5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

tendency is to use money income to purchase goods needed for daily life but obtainable in the subsistence sector of the economy (Waddell and Krinks 1968: 192). Only a small minority of the goods used by Orokaiva fall into this category, but if the tendency to exclude most store-bought goods from the gift exchange system continues, we may expect that system gradually to decline in importance as the monetary sector of the economy increases.

In the political sphere, the traditional system of control is still generally in operation at the village level. Under this system some men may exert great influence over a community, but they cannot enforce compliance by physical sanctions. While the Orokaiva generally maintain this system, an exception is made for councillors and committee men acting under delegated power from the government. These men may lay complaints with Australian authority and in practice do not always disdain to do so. Among the New Zealand Maori, any leader who so much as threatens to invoke European authority risks being nicknamed 'Mr. Government' and losing all influence. Not so among the Orokaiva; the argument is that it is better for such powers to be used by an Orokaiva official than by the government itself. Nonetheless, use of authority outside the extended family goes against the Orokaiva ethos and undermines the exchange system in a minor way, because an official, by invoking his *authority*, can obtain something from Alter without becoming indebted to Alter. A traditional leader, under the same circumstances, might have incurred a debt or drawn on a kind of credit balance. Here again, the departure from the traditional exchange system does not greatly intrude in everyday affairs, but is symptomatic of the type of changes social development would bring. There has thus been a growing inconsistency between the norms of the traditional exchange system and the facts of labour migration, cash cropping, adherence to the Christian Church, attendance at meetings called by councillors, school education, use of medical services, changes in house architecture, participation in women's clubs, savings and loan societies, rubber co-operatives and the like. How, if at all, did Orokaiva thought cope with these basic inconsistencies?

I have explained how traditional institutions are accounted for. When I inquired why it is that mankind wears clothing, makes fires, contracts marriages, I would be told myths about the *dema* responsible for these institutions. I would also be told that after the *dema* had shown men how to act in these matters there had never been any change. There was primordial time during which men lived, one might say, in the state of nature. In spite of the absence of strife and death that era was not invariably represented as a happy one. Women were desolate because they had no men to marry, no fire to cook with, no houses to live in. In spite of most obstinate and desperate efforts, graphically described in the myths, mankind failed to get the things it needed. The *dema* thus brought release from suffering when they introduced cultural goods, techniques and rules of behaviour. But after the *dema* died, nothing ever changed again.

While such beliefs belie any suggestions that the Orokaiva are without history,[1] it remains true that the Orokaiva repertoire of historical explanations is very small. The actions of the *dema*, the scission of lineages comparable to the branches of a tree, the settlement of villages by men sleeping under a *barevo* tree – this completes the set of traditional historical explanations of which I have knowledge. How could the Orokaiva, confined to this set of concepts, find

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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relationship. They could conceivably have chosen a different explanation which would have provided a charter for the reinforcement of quite different relationships. If the eruption had not happened at all, the Orokaiva would most probably have taken the same direction, but the charter validating development and baptism would have been weaker for some time. It may be that the exchange ideology would have weakened before development started. The eruption, however, seems to provide Church and government with a most formidable arsenal of negative sanctions in case the relationship is ever broken through the fault of the Orokaiva. We may conclude that the Orokaiva, by their belief in a new kind of divine intervention (through the *dema* figure Jesus Christ), have been encouraged to make new types of economic, social and religious exchanges, while maintaining their assumption of an exchange-oriented universe, and that their philosophy has provided them, at least for a time, with a workable rationale for the contemporary world.

REFERENCES

1. The traditional time concepts of the Orokaiva are probably mainly restricted to what Evans-Pritchard (1939) called 'oecological' and 'structural' time. It is, however, very likely that they also had 'an historical perspective of their own, whatever its depth may be' – rather similar to the one described by M. Panoff for the Maenge (1968). Such a perspective would include not only the *dema* but also the scission of lineages and the settlement of villages. An Orokaiva described lineage fission to me by drawing a tree on the ground – using precisely the same symbolism as Panoff's Maenge informants. Orokaiva stories of the settlement of villages also abound, usually giving the name of the tree by which the settlers 'sat down' when they arrived.

   Pocock (1964) has argued that as culture change becomes more rapid under the impact of European contact, traditional time concepts undergo structural transformation to make them more nearly explanatory of the actual course of events. I believe that the identification of Jesus Christ with a *dema*, as argued in this chapter, is an example of such structural transformation.

2. For the location of Torogota, see Fig. 10.
3. Information on this point was derived from several local planters, including Mr. C. E. Searle of Awala. See also Howlett 1965.
4. Details on communication channels between government and people are given in Schwimmer 1967, 1969.
5. The Sasembata mission station is not in Sasembata village but just north of Kongohambo. See Fig. 10.
6. Reay has reported that 'the natives had no knowledge, or legend, of an earlier eruption' (*apud* Taylor, 1958: 21). My own study (Schwimmer 1969) suggests that this view, while not strictly incorrect, needs to be modified. My sources are tape-recorded myths and Miss Nancy White's manuscripts (White, n.d.).
7. Interview with Bishop Hand, January 1967.

[p.82 is blank]

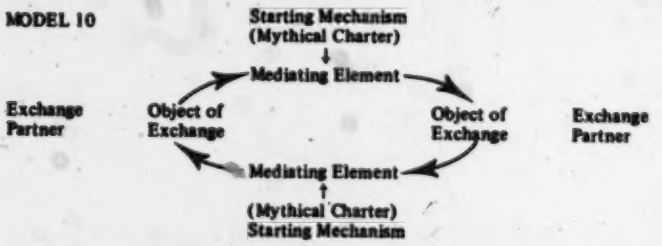
CHAPTER V:

LAND

1. *Mediating Elements*

In the preceding chapters I have set out a method for studying the working of the principle of reciprocity in Orokaiva society. I have shown in a general way how this method may be used for the analysis of traditional institutions and demonstrated that it is still applicable to contemporary institutions. In the chapters that follow I shall apply this method to elucidate a wide range of ethnographic data for some of which no satisfactory alternative explanation has yet been offered. To recapitulate, we may state the method, as set out so far, in the following provisional model:

MODEL 10



There are three main constituents in this model, viz. (*a*) exchange partners; (*b*) objects of exchange; (*c*) mediating elements.

The plan of this work is to discuss mediating elements in the present and four succeeding chapters, and to deal specifically with relationships between exchange partners in chapters X and XI. The objects of exchange, some of which have been briefly mentioned in previous chapters, tend to be institutionalised social attitudes such as repentance / forgiveness; compliance / administrative or pastoral care; avoidance / preservation from harm. Objects of this kind are exchanged in virtually all cultures. In deciding whether or not they will engage in such exchanges, individuals weigh the social costs they would incur against the social benefits they might gain. Social psychologists like Homans and Blau have made valuable contributions in this field of study. In omitting consideration of it here I do not mean to imply that it is irrelevant to anthropologists, but it is difficult to develop universal propositions about human exchange and analyse universal processes governing associations, in a work whose main purpose is the

461 The analysis of work organisation within the framework of specific activities reveals that the essentially non-productive aspects of travel and leisure account for almost as much time as that devoted to productive tasks. Thus, while the activity day is reasonably long there is immediate scope for improving efficiency at this level, and the interest currently being shown in land tenure conversion among the Orokaiva, plus the distinctive time and motion patterns of the cash croppers and younger householders possibly reflect some realisation of this.

The nature and size of work groups

[181] [592] Both Keesing (1952:19) and Reay (1953:111) have remarked upon the highly individualistic nature of the Orokaiva and this trait is clearly reflected in their work patterns. The household, comprising a nuclear family, is the basic unit of production and consumption[1] yet seldom do all its members work together on a single task. The pattern is rather for individuals to perform distinct but mutually compatible tasks at the same location. In one such case, where the four adult members of a household spent a six-hour period together in the same garden, the following allocation of work and sequence was observed:

[462]

Husband and son - clearing bush
Wife and daughter - weeding taro
Wife - collecting taro tops (for planting)
Son - planting taro
Wife - collecting sweet potato (for consumption)
Husband - collecting yams (for consumption)

Likewise, members of an expanded family frequently travel together to and from their separate, but adjoining, gardens and perform similar tasks within their respective areas.

[476] In Table 6:13 work groups are defined narrowly, in terms of individuals performing the same task together at the same site, and as such they are normally seen to comprise less than two adults. The main exceptions are activities where collaboration is specifically

[1] Only 9 per cent of all activity time is rendered in the form of labour services to other households. Nevertheless, the daily distribution of food is an important facet of Orokaiva life, and its scale contradicts to some extent these individualistic notions, suggesting that communalism is reflected by exchange rather than co-operative effort. See Part III for an analysis of the exchange system.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 115]

181 In his discussion of Orokaiva morality, Williams (1930:322) states that 'The group...contents itself with two main requirements - (i) material plenty, and (ii) internal concord. ...each virtue implies agent and reagent'. Three 'moral factors' are identified as working positively towards the achievement of this ideal: industry (the manifestations of which have been treated in Part II), liberality and helpfulness. A concern for mutual aid operates among members of the 'sympathy group' and is therefore only effective over a socially and geographically restricted area. Being an acephalous society, it is based on a reciprocal system whereby a prestation voluntarily made carries with it certain obligations and expectations.

In traditional Orokaiva society several types of prestations were identified, according to the scale, circumstance and nature of the obligation incurred, and many of them are still practised, albeit often in an attenuated form. The most common is termed osies - the informal daily distribution of small quantities of cooked food within the village. No account is kept of the volume involved but equal participation by all households is expected, the only exceptions being the aged and the single men, with the latter being called upon to reciprocate with a labour service from time to time. Such distributions are primarily the women's responsibility. However the casual gifts of areca and lime, made by the men, fall within the same category.

The term hanoa, freely translated as 'generous', is applied more specifically to ceremonial distributions and feasts organised by the men.[1] They are normally characterised by the participation of agnates and affines from other villages and by the strict attention paid to the apportionment of gifts according to considerations of kinship, status and specific obligations being acknowledged.

Viscera are challenge feasts of an avowedly competitive and hostile nature made in connection with unresolved disputes such as encroachment on land, or the stealing and unauthorised killing of pigs. They generally occur at the inter-, but neighbouring, clan level and incorporate the powerful sanction of shame for the individual or group challenged. The procedure is for the party levelling the initial accusation to hold a feast, invite the other, make a gift of food to them, and then challenge them publicly to reciprocate with a feast of equivalent scale. A failure to match it can only result in humiliation.

The type of gift made as a gesture of friendship or appreciation, but not normally reciprocated, is known as umbare. Such gifts are

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[1] See p.26 for a description of the circumstances under which feasts are arranged.

A,[See Category 574, p.28--Analyst]

[177] in its attitude to culture contact, is somewhat homogeneous, Inonda
[195] is deeply split between a Christian and a Pagan faction, and it is the Christian faction which is involved in coffee growing, the cattle project, the government sponsored women's club and wage labour whereas outside contacts for the pagan faction are truly minimal.

[177] The changes which have occurred in the pattern of outside contacts in Sivepa between the eruption and the present all involved
[181] changes in ideology. This is true for the pattern of inter-village cooperation and the interaction with Papuan functionaries no less
[179] than for the trade-store movement. It is an ideology referred to by the Orokaiva as "iji eha," "the new day" and it carries with it an acceptance of Christianity, the objectives of the Local Government Councils and the tenets of economic development. This ideology is as readily expressed by the Christians of Inonda as it is by the people of Sivepa.

[177] Not only is this ideology of European origin, but the new types of contact that are being made among Papuans can be traced back, in almost every instance, to white man's actions. Generally, the village man or woman has but a minimal direct contact with the white man and such direct contact as does occur is liable to involve a minimal communication of ideas. Because of the language barrier, an interpreter is, at the very least, required as intermediary
[191] between white man and Orokaiva. Simple, direct communications can be effectively made in Motu which most Orokaiva understand and which many Europeans speak to some extent. Modern circumstances, however, increasingly demand the communication of more complex messages than can be transmitted by that medium, as used at present. More commonly, Papuan members of formal organisations act as middlemen for more complex messages.

It seems best to describe at the outset the pattern as I observed it in Sivepa in 1966-7--the pattern in Inonda and other villages was very similar--and then compare this to the pattern of 1951 and the rather untypical situation in the evacuation camps.
[101] All white men are known by the collective appellation and reference term taupa, but the roles in which taupa are truly familiar to the Orokaiva are few. Most taupa are government servants, traders, missionaries, soldiers. In Sivepa the white government servants most frequently encountered were: the patrol officer, the agricultural officer, the magistrate, the advisory officer of the Higaturu council; higher officials stationed in Popondetta were mostly known by rumour. The head teacher of the local mission school and his wife were both taupa; everyone was familiar with taupa planters and storekeepers. An unusual and very highly respected taupa, indeed a man to whom one never heard the term taupa applied, so well liked was he, was the superintendent of the Saiho hospital who took part in the Christmas dance at Saiho in Orokaiva costume, together with his wife, and who was invited to village feasts at which he ate with

CHAPTER IX: Adherence to Tradition

Section 1: Conflicts Between Two Conceptual Systems

181 177 The Orokaiva of today has to act in conformity with two conceptual systems, one attributed to the ancestors and the other imposed by the mission and, to some extent, by the government. Essentially the system followed today is that attributed to the ancestors, but changes have been very numerous. These changes have mostly been conceptualised as substitutions and additions of the old system, leaving its essentials intact. At the same time, these substitutions have been calculated to ward off criticism from mission and government, and to cope with changed conditions.

551 178 There is, for instance, a taboo on using the names of affines. When the government pressed for the amalgamation of villages, affines frequently found themselves residents of the same village, which made the name taboo very awkward. The custom now is that the taboo is greatly relaxed for Christians; the baptismal name has only a mild taboo attached to it, while the severe taboo on the Orokaiva name bestowed at birth has remained unchanged. In dealings with Europeans, who do not respect the taboo (even though affines of a person are present), only the baptismal name is used. In the village, the Orokaiva names are now heard very rarely indeed.

464 167 178 The temporary labour migration of young men (who sometimes leave wives behind in the village) continues a traditional pattern of behaviour as young men used to go out in the same circumstances to hunt heads, but it is money they now bring back before they settle down. Bridewealth gifts have remained conceptually as they were before: there must be a pig or pigs, bark cloth, ritual valuables 178 such as shell necklaces and feathers, cooking pots, but in addition 583 new wealth is necessary: store clothes, "knives and forks" (i.e., kitchenware) and money. Here again, a change in detail has not changed the basic conception of the gift but rather has updated the details.

852 178 There used to be a ceremony to which a boy was subjected at or just before adolescence. This was the time when the boy formally assumed clothing. The boy used to be given his perineal band (bo) by some adult male cognate, often the man by whom the boy had been named. (Williams, 1930: 98) Nowadays, boys wear clothing much earlier in life, but the ceremony is still held as an occasion for honouring the child. It is now called a "birthday party"; as such it has the blessing of the mission while at the same time an essential part of a boy's life cycle is preserved.

241 of "dry" gardening, with fire and the digging stick as the essential tools, and either long term rotation of previously occupied areas or breaking in of new forest land. "The immediate family . . . is a self sufficient unit" and "the Orokaiva words for 'work' and 'garden' are one and the same." Con-
621 sistent with this mobile economic base, settlements are rarely more than hamlet size, with "hardly more than a dozen houses" on the average. Materials for housing are readily available, so that residence can be easily shifted.

The hamlet is based normally on patrilocal-patrilineal principles of organization, with a known strong tendency for new groups to form by "hiving off." Clan affiliations are
[614] reckoned from quite recent ancestors, so that at times a given clan may all be in one settlement, though more usually scattered through several closely related settlements. The
592 generally monogamous family units are under the "immediate
62 authority of the father," while the affairs of the local living
622 units are under loose supervision by the hamlet and clan elders, centered on a "men's house" and working together, usually with one strong senior man as "leader." Personal
422 property consists of mobile goods such as tools and utensils, clothing, and body ornaments.

181 In spite of ethnic similarities over a wide region, Williams speaks of the Orokaiva as being a "more than usually quarrelsome and disunited people"—a strong statement to make in the New Guinea setting. Their pre-pacification history was marked by "feuds, dispersals . . . a veritable whirlpool of strife, migration, and counter-migration." Beaver, too, refers to their "turbulent and restless life . . . migration was, in
[154] the main, a matter of attacking, fleeing, and pursuing." Supernatural weapons in the form of sorcery were especially feared. Even for Papuans, the Orokaiva proved to be unusually
[562] hostile and resistant to whites. Women were often seen accompanying the war parties, carrying food and weapons, and
[486] sometimes joining in fights. Williams goes on to say that while the "elementary small sympathy-groups" (the local
[628] kin and settlement units, and to a lesser extent the dispersed clan units) were tightly knit, their external relations were
[728] precarious. "There were peacemakings or truces, but the truce was always a fragile one, and no (settlement) lived in permanent security." "Hiving off" occurred sometimes
361 as the result of a "quarrel and the fear of retaliatory magic,";
24 but more often it was "simply the lax method of horticulture
[518] which necessitates the clearing of many areas in succession and sometimes a temporary settlement on a distant site."
361 Another factor could have been food scarcities which tend to occur in exceptionally dry southeast winter seasons. During
261 this period, north and west Lamington area is in a rainshadow zone, and people may have to scatter out to live on wild
731 roots and fruits. The implication of this is that even the
165 excision of the 4,000 persons from the Orokaiva group who were killed involved no extensive shattering of valued ties.

361 Williams and others judge that with the modern pacifica-
176 tion, the Orokaiva have tended to disperse in even smaller living units than before. This appears to apply particularly
[199] to the relatively densely populated Lamington slopes, though a few instances of larger aggregations approaching a village
361 type also occurred, particularly as a result of Mission influ-
571 ence. Over against this greater dispersal, the people have;

24: Schwimmer E-5 (1966-1973) 1977
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quences of disobedience are stressed by the ideology—such an attitude is viewed by Orokaiva not as part of a permanent new order but as a temporary expedient, a ploy in the power struggle.

Reform is advocated in terms of such strategy. Over the last fifteen years we have seen that the Orokaiva have begun to accept the idea of converting land titles to sole tenure, as well as the inevitable consequences of such conversion for kinship organization. Such changes are explained in ideological terms as a necessary part of the competitive struggle against Europeans. The fact that Europeans view the same move as serving the cause of social and economic development is almost a coincidence.

Perhaps the most important practical conclusion we can draw about the genesis of cognitive structures has to do with the nature of power competition between Orokaiva and the administration. It is often supposed that development and political competition are separate processes in conflict with one another. The case in question shows that the Orokaiva view both aspects as part of an ongoing exchange relationship. It will have been noticed that in political debate Papuans, especially those in the villages, are reluctant to seek immediate political independence from Australia, even though tensions clearly exist. The point here is that they like to see the exchange relationships with their Australian partners continue, even though they wish to improve greatly their own position in that relationship. It may be, of course, that this attitude will change later. In the exchange relationship their own very considerable prestation is their subordination to foreign authority. In return they are receiving educational benefits which they value highly—not, fundamentally, because these benefits increase their private incomes but rather because they maximize Orokaiva power in the exchange relationship.

In addition, the material presented here may have theoretical implications with regard to the genesis and dynamics of cognitive structures. We must distinguish here between macro- and microprocesses. For the purpose of the discussion, I have assumed that the Orokaiva world view, with its notions of exchange and power, remained unchanged between 1951 and 1966. This assumption was convenient for the analysis, but it must be qualified. In 1966 I was given geophysical explanations of the eruption as well as magico-religious ones, and the former (though feebly held by a small elite) do prefigure a basic structural change in the Orokaiva

cognitive system. For the most part, however, I was concerned with microprocesses, such as the simultaneous development of explanatory systems based respectively on a tribal, Cargo Cult, and church-administration ideology. None of these ideologies was generated by the eruption, but the eruption was treated as a sign within the context of each of these ideologies, with a different interpretation in each case.

The eruption became a sign because it took its place in a series of ongoing transactions with supernatural beings. As such it had the effect of changing the relationships with these beings in regard to both duties and expectations. The eruption differed from other such signs mainly by its cataclysmic character and its unequivocal demonstration of power. The fact that different interpretations evolved is not an accident but mirrors an ongoing debate within the society. The evidence suggests that cognitive structures do not change by a process of unilineal development but by a process of internal differentiation opening up a dialectic between ideologies opposed to one another along the axes of basic social conflicts. In the Orokaiva case these axes were tribalism/regionalism and denial/acceptance of the partnership with European power. If opposition exists along these two axes, four systems are theoretically possible—namely, tribalism + denial, tribalism + acceptance, regionalism + denial, and regionalism + acceptance. As we have seen, each of these four combinations was found in actuality. The four Orokaiva theories thus form a well-structured whole, and together they express contemporary Orokaiva social reality. The structural changes that were taking place in the period 1951 to 1966 did not come out overtly in discourse but had been recognized and given meaning in terms of the ideologies in 1966.

NOTES

I acknowledge with gratitude financial help received from the Displaced Communities Project, the Canada Council, and the Killam Foundation in the preparation of this chapter. I thank Michael Lieber for his valuable comments on the original draft, which stimulated me to clarify and expand my arguments, and Sandra Wallman for her comments and criticisms. My wife, Ziska Schwimmer, gave valuable assistance in the interviewing of female informants in the sample communities. This chapter was written before independence for New Guinea became a reality.